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ABSTRACT

Black underrepresentation in college enrollment and degree attainment can be seen as symptomatic of broad societal structures that have perpetuated inequality of socioeconomic and educational opportunity. This study examines a low-income black neighborhood to discover the extent to which blacks think of themselves as members of a subordinate caste and the effect of these feelings on their living and academic strategies. Among theories attempting to explain black underrepresentation in higher education, those centering on black culture, slavery and post-slavery experiences, and black family structure are reviewed and rejected. More appropriate is John Ogbu's caste system theory which holds that, being relegated to menial jobs and denied assimilation in American society, blacks have developed a folk theory and subsequent strategies for "getting ahead," which do not encourage perseverance in schooling. Residents of the Franklin Square neighborhood of Baltimore (Maryland) were studied to determine the applicability of Ogbu's theory. The study indicates that Franklin Square residents adopt alternative strategies for "making it" over traditional ones, and that an oppositional relationship to mainstream career paths and daily living patterns is strongly evidenced. In addition, clientship relationships reflect resident attitudes toward the system. Both coping and expressive responses of the Franklin Square community strongly confirm the minority caste thesis and underscore the limited value of traditional educational paths within this framework. The report includes four tables and a list of 95 references. (AF)

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Living in Franklin Square
An Exploration of Black Culture

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INTRODUCTION

Despite 20 years of proactive national legislation to improve the condition of blacks in the United States to compensate for 100 years of discrimination, blacks continue to have difficulty in and profiting from educational opportunities. Black students continue to score 100 points below white students on College Entrance Board Examinations both verbal and mathematic tests (Howard & Hammond, 1985).

Blacks comprise 12% of the population, but remain consistently underrepresented in college enrollment and degree attainment. For example, 9% of the black population 25 years and older has completed four or more years of college as compared to 18% for the total U.S. population. Morever, only 32.4% of black high school graduates between 18 to 24 years of age who are dependent family members are enrolled in college as compared to 45% of the white population. With one exception, the $10,000 to $14,999 income category, blacks by income group are underenrolled in comparison to whites (Bureau of Census, 1984).

Many reasons have been offered for the educational plight of blacks. These reasons have ranged from Jensen's (1969) generally discounted theory of innate intellectual inferiority through cultural deprivation to the matriarchal structure of the black family.

It is the contention of this study that none of these reasons offers adequate explanation for the underrepresentation of blacks in higher education. The caste sytem theory developed by Ogbu (1974; 1978; 1985) may provide an adequate explanation, and is the focus of this study.

There is contradictory evidence on the extent of opportunities for blacks. Blacks are now mayors of some of the major cities of the United States, including Los Angeles, Washington. D.C., Atlanta, and Detroit. However, in other areas, black advancement has not been so great. Only 5% of Congress is black. There is only one black chief executive officer of the Fortune 500 club of major businesses (Congressional Black Caucus, 1987; USA Today, October 1985). Despite the gains associated with Civil Rights, black underachievement in education has been consistently documented, and numerous studies have been conducted in seeking explanations for the phenomena. However, no definitive explanation has yet been provided. The purpose of this study was to examine a black low income class neighborhood (one whose income and other demographic statistics conform to those of the general black population) to discover (1) if blacks still think of themselves as members of a subordinate caste, (2) their reasons for thinking so, if they do, and (3) how their living and academic strategies are affected by their feelings. The study was intended to answer

the following research questions.

1. What historical and current conditions might affect black perceptions of their status?
2. What living strategies were chosen in response to their feelings; that is, what is their folk theory of opportunity and social identity?
3. How have their feelings (beliefs) and living (coping) strategies affected academic "valuing" and strategies?

Theoretical Approaches

Many theories have been offered to explain black underrepresentation in higher education. These theories, as noted earlier range from Jensen's discounted theory of genetic inferiority (not considered as an explanation in this study) to Ogbu's minority caste system paradigm. The popular approaches used by researchers to explain black underrepresentation are black culture, slavery and postslavery experiences, and the black family structure.

Research which supports the first theoretical approach (black culture) emphasizes that as a result of blacks being victimized by an impoverished life and excluded from mainstream culture, a distinctive way of life has evolved.

Heath's (1983) 10-year ethnographic study in the Trackton Community illustrates the concept of black culture and its effect on education. She described how skills learned in the community were not "school oriented." In fact, teachers viewed the "on-stage" performer skills as inappropriate for the school environment, and contributed to low grades and behavior problems, thus reducing students' commitment to or interest in school.

Some researchers have cited the slavery and postslavery experience as explanations for black underrepresentation in higher education. It is reported that with slavery, certain habits were developed and have been perpetuated over time. For example, black slaves were not permitted to read, attend school or make life decisions (Williams, 1986). As a result of not being allowed to take responsibility for their own lives, black developed negative habits with regard to white-dominated work (Nye and Bernardo, 1973; Williams, 1986). These habits are thought to indirectly affect the representation of black in higher education today. Theories of slavery and post slavery effects can not explain why some blacks apparently changed their habits in response to changed circumstances, such as passage of the Civil Rights Act. Yet, blacks as a group continued to be underrepresented in higher education.

Another popular approach to explain black underrepresentation in higher education is the black family structure often referred to as being matriarchal.

It is reported that black mothers treat sons and daughters difficulty. They raise sons to be docile and passive, and daughters to be independent, aggressive and self-reliant (Staples, 1976; Bond and Peery, 1969; Grier and Cobbs, 1969). One could, therefore, infer that, in black families, daughters choose education and sons choose menial labor. The weakness of this theory is that it does not fully explain why so many daughters do not choose education.

Having rejected these explanations for black underrepresentation in education, Obgu's Theory is now presented.

Obgu's Theory and Background

John Obgu's initial work on the caste system was done in 1974. In his ethnographic study of blacks and Mexican Americans in Stockton, California, Obgu proposed that the difficulty blacks were having in school was attributable to their membership in a minority under caste. According to Obgu, "blacks are affected by a past history of slavery, discrimination and exploitation. Being relegated to menial jobs and denied true assimilation in the mainstream of American society, blacks developed a folk theory and subsequent strategies for "getting ahead." This folk theory of opportunity of "getting ahead" does not encourage blacks to persevere in schooling.

He found in his initial study (1974) and later studies (1978; 1985) that black students adopted noneffective (in terms of academic achievement) strategies because of actual, as well as perceived, poor opportunities, including a job ceiling that limited black occupations to manual and primarily menial labor.

Since Ogbu's initial study, there have been tremendous technological, legal, and political changes which may have had an effect on the caste system he described. Yet blacks as a whole continue to achieve less well in academia than whites and certain other minorities. This study was designed to discover whether perceptions and behaviors of a community of blacks were still affected by those factors attributed to caste.

METHODOLOGY

This study employed a methodology to allow for in-depth investigation of the characteristics of the Franklin Square community, and the roles, opportunities, and expectations that blacks hold, which may explain their underrepresentation in higher education.

A search was established for a local community which matches many of the general characteristics for blacks nationally, according to location, employment status, educational attainment, and number of female household heads (see Table 1).

After careful review of the data, the Franklin Square neighborhood was chosen for this study.

The most unique characteristic of Franklin Square, 6 blocks wide and 4 blocks long, is the old style row type houses, some a century old or more. Trees are sparsely planted, balancing the plain and aging brick houses lined in rows. On the corners are located several "greasy spoon" type carry out stores, several "store front" and larger churches of different denominations, a Senior Citizen Center, a school, and a community center. Most of the residents do not own their homes; 80.2% of the row type houses are rented and 19.8% owner occupied. The poverty rate for blacks is around 43.2%, and 26.1% of the blacks are unemployed.

Community Residents

There were 4,588 persons living in the Franklin Square neighborhood in 1980 (U.S. Census); 0.6% of the total Baltimore population of 786,775. In 1980 there were 99 Whites; 4,458 Blacks; 10 American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts; and 21 Asians and Pacific Islanders. Approximately 26.2% of the population was under 15 years, and 11% over 65 years. The median age was around 26.8.

The 1985 census data indicate that 50% of families were headed by females with no husband present. Approximately 3.5%

of blacks age 25 or over at Franklin Square had completed 4 years of college, and 24.8% were high school graduates, compared to 3.6% with 4 years or more of college for blacks in general in the U.S., and 34.6% with a high school diploma (U.S. Census, 1980).

Participant Selection

A series of steps were taken to select participants and gain community acceptance to conduct the study. First, a meeting was held with the community board to apprise them of the study and to win their support. Secondly, close ties were established with a storefront church as a means of getting introduced to the community. Finally, sponsors who lived and worked in the community were identified to facilitate learning about community operation and to gain further acceptance by the community.

Data Collection

Ethnographic techniques were used in the collection of data. The emphasis in the data collection was on discovering patterns of meanings and reasoning as reflected in behaviors and self-reports.

The types of data collected were historical documentation, "current events" interviews and participant observations. Residents and participants were interviewed and observed on

street corners, alleys, churches, fast food stores, bars, jails, schools and residents homes. Particular attention was given to behavior, language and communication skills; contrasting "things that people said to what they did".

Collecting the Data

The period of data collection was for 21 months. Data collection began in September 1985 and ended in August 1987.

Several methods were used by the researcher to document findings. These included participant observations, interviews, and newspaper clippings/documents.

In an attempt to report a realistic view of Franklin Square community, data were collected at different hours of the day which included mornings, afternoons and nights; different days of the week, thereby encompassing Mondays through Sundays; and seasons of the year.

Data Analysis

Several steps in ethnograhic analysis were used. Step (1), domain analysis, as defined by Spradley (1980), is a systematic procedure for determining categories of meaning in the data. The researcher searched the date for "cover terms," which are broad categories of meaning in the data.

In this study, "cover terms" were taken from the research questions, interview and observation data, e.g. kinds of historical perspectives, kinds of community lifestyles. The next step in domain analysis involved determining semantic relationships which linked cover terms. Once cover terms were identified, they were placed inside the domain.

The semantic relations included (1) attribution (i.e x is an attribute of y, e.g. what were the historical factors which led to the current sate of the community?), (2) functions (i.e. x is used for y, e.g. what are the effects of drug trafficking?), and (3) rationale (i.e. x is a reason for doing y, e.g. why do people push drugs?)

Table 2 is an example of attribution semantic relationship. The domain is historical factors. There are 44 included terms under the domain.

The second step in the data analysis is taxonomic analysis, which is a way of organizing the "included terms" (small categories that relate to the cover term) by similarity. This was done by making a list of included terms and placing related things together.

Table 3 shows how the related "included terms" from Table 2 were organized into categories of community appearance, safety, community living, economy, housing, feeling of the people, and

employment. The data in Table 3 displays the taxonomic analysis.

In addition to ethnographic analysis, 30 residents were surveyed.

FINDINGS

In this study, caste-like stratification was evident in the exploitation of the residents by the dominant society through denial of social and material benefits. Denial of social and material benefits was evidenced by "chopping down the tall white washed trees" when the community changed from all white to all black in the 1940's. These trees had lined the streets, adding beauty to the community. The city government, which had been responsible for maintaining their beauty by white washing the tree trunks, denied blacks this material benefit by "chopping the trees down," once the neighborhood changed from white to black.

In addition, blacks "lost jobs and were denied the privilege of having a health care facility next door, as a result of moving the hospital to the other side of town in the 1940's," one old-time resident observed. The feelings that residents had about the uprooting of Franklin Square hospital was that "They (hospital personnel) didn't relish the idea about having black patients. And white patients and doctors did'nt want to come through this black neighborhood" (Interview with Mrs. McGowan, August, 1987).

This feeling of the residents was compounded with the building of the freeway which bypassed the commmunity in the 1960's. No longer did whites, as one resident said, "have to drive through here and see all these niggers." With the freeway, residents felt "closed off and further isolated from the outside world"; "locked in a ghetto."

The caste-like stratification was further exemplified in two periods of block busting. Large homes bought by realtors during the times of block busting were divided into small rental units. These units housed black families under crowded conditions to meet the housing demand for numerous blacks migrating from the south in the 1950's.

Upon reaching the north, blacks faced job ceilings. Many who migrated from the south to work in the factories were assigned to menial labor. When many of the factories closed in the 1960's, some blacks found themselves unskilled for other types of jobs requiring technological skills. Futhermore, many black workers were not trained to assume technological positions. As a result, some acquired other menial type jobs and others went on welfare. Even residents with college credentials acquired jobs not commensurate with their training. For example, of two employees interviewed, one has a law degee and another has a degree in social work. The one with the law degree never worked as an attorney and said, "I could'nt find what I wanted."

The one with the degree in social work said, "I wanted to work for myself.." Both appear to do quite well financially however, the college credentials earned were not needed for their present jobs.

In response to their caste like stratification, Franklin Square residents developed coping responses and a certain view of how their society worked. The coping responses included alternative survival strategies which were in conflict with the system (e.g. hustling), and responses to their situtation were consistent with an oppositional social identity and cultural frame of reference. Both the exploitation by the dominant society and the coping responses of the residents to their situation affected the attitude that Franklin Square residents have about the value of a college education.

As a result of their membership in a caste system and resulting coping responses, certain folk theories are evident. These include: "Keep to yourself and nobody will bother you"; "We're locked in a ghetto and nobody cares"; "Integration hurt us"; "You can't compete with the white man"; "Money is for spending, not saving"; and "Live for today , tommorrow will take care of itself." The folk theory related to perceived opportunity of getting ahead is "Blacks don't have the same opportunity as whites to get ahead; therefore, blacks must 'make' it by any menas necessary.

Furthermore, it is believed that the few blacks in status positions are "token blacks," in that their positions are tenuous, and they can be "brought down" at any time. As a bail bondsman with a college education reflected, "Blacks can't compete with the white man. I had to compromise in order to survive..." Since most of the residents feel they cannot compete, traditional values of education and a career have been side-stepped, and alternative strategies have been chosen to cope with perceived unequal opportunity of getting ahead.

This folk theory of unequal opportunity has led to an oppositional relationship and clientship relationship with the system. This expression is best reflected by a common statement made by residents, "everybody's gotta do what they gotta do, and make it any way you can." In other words, if getting ahead requires beating the system, stealing, or selling drugs, it's understood as a way of "making it."

An example of beating the system strategy is getting more money from welfare. It was not uncommon for some residents to lie to welfare authorities about the number of household occupants. As reported by two neighbors who lived next door to such a household, "There be all kinds of checks goin' up in that house." Residents viewed this as a legitimate strategy, in that "no one can live off $500.00 a month, so people have gotta do something."

Stealing is another strategy, oppositional both to the system and to members of the community. "Stealing from your neighbor and selling to your neighbor" is another way of "making it." This strategy is accepted perhaps as easily as stealing from the system, whether by shoplifting or "beating the system.." While those who are stolen from complain, it does not hinder them from continuing to participate in stolen purchasing goods. Why? Because everyone wants a bargain, and acquiring a bargain is another way of "making it."

Selling drugs is the fastest and most commonly chosen way of "making it," because the financial return is quite high. Pushers can make $6,000 a day, and runners (kids who deliver drug packages) can make $50.00 per delivery. Those selling drugs do not understand why one would take a legitimate job which requires a greater investment of time and pays considerably less than drug marketing. As Ms. Silver, an employee at the Boys Club said: "It's hard to believe, but we can't fill these job openings. The kids don't want them. They laugh at me when I tell them they can make over $3.00 an hour". A kid said, " I can make more money in a day then you can in a week."

In addition to oppositional relationships with the system, there are clientship relationships. Teens get pregnant in part to collect welfare checks. In a sense, they rely upon the government to "take care of them and their children." As Belinda, a 21-year-old who grew up in the community and escaped

teenage pregnancy said, " I know a lot of these girls get pregnant to get that check. I wanted to have kids when I was younger too, but I felt it was wrong."

There were certain expressive responses in addition to the coping responses. These expressive responses were evident in the residents' social identity and cultural frame of reference. In both areas, residents demonstrated oppositional expressive responses to their life situation. In general, blacks had a collective social identity in that they tended to believe they could not expect to be treated like members of the dominant group, regardless of education and training. As one resident with a degree in social work said, "You can't compete with the white man, so blacks gotta make it anyway they can." The incident of chopping down the tall white-washed trees, as stated earlier, was interpreted as unjust treatment, solely because they were black. Other incidents of moving the hospital and building the freeway reinforced to the blacks that they were inferior and could not expect to be treated as whites are treated.

The cultural frame of reference for community residents was the opposite of "America and apple pie," as one resident reflected. Life does not include employment, graduation from high school, saving money or taking a vacation. The focus is on the "here and now," tomorrow will take care of its." Since there is no job to report to and the government will pay you to stay home, one spends a typical day staying out late at night and going to bed when many traditional people with jobs are arising. Every night is a party night, and the community comes to life at 5:00 p.m. when games shows, soap operas, and cartoons have gone off the television. Drunk men walk the

streets carrying cocktails in plastic cups or beer hidden in brown paper bags. Women and teenage children sit on the stoops with ghetto blasters (large radios) playing while watching passersby. Kids play on the sidewalks, ride big wheel bikes, and play jump rope. Occasionally, druggies are seen walking around like zombies, as if controlled by an outside force. A typical example of this occurred on a Sunday morning in July, after "Big John" had smoked crack. He paced the street for two hours; walking bare chested with pants drooping, exposing his lower back and upper buttocks. He moved about stiffly, barely lifting his feet off the street. His facial expression was blank and he stared with nonblinking eyes, straight ahead as if looking away at a far distance. Only his parched lips moved as he greeted an acquaintance passing by.

Similarly, a young thin black female around 19 years of age was in this state. Instead of pacing back and forth, she walked down the street in one direction like a stiff doll being propelled by a child. She spoke to no one, but stopped every now and then to spit frothy sputum onto the ground.

While this description is characteristic for many of the residents, everyone does not fall under this category. There are some who work and go to bed earlier than 2:00 a.m., but many working and nonworking residents participate in the party spirit.

In some cases, the party spirit is given priority over spending time with children. It is not uncommon for mothers to leave a young sibling (age 10-12) to care for younger children

and babies. The sibling in charge may have responsibilty for meal preparation as well as supervision of children's activities. As children grow up and become teenagers, they, too, take part in the "party spirit"," leaving preadolescent siblings to care for younger ones.

Not only do young children observe and later participate in the "party spirit," they also observe the interruptions when "fights break out." As one resident recalled, "fights happen all the time; one week I counted a fight every night." As a result of the fighting and other forms of violence, parents feel that the streets are not always safe for children to play. An example of this was a Friday afternoon at 4:30 p.m. when mothers and children witnessed the shooting of Jim, a 28 year old black male who stopped by his "ole lady's house" to drop off money for the kid's school clothing. Upon Leaving the house and standing on the corner, a 17 year old black male riding a bicycle stopped in front of Jim, lifted his shirt and pulled out an uzi (automatic firing weapon). Mrs. White an eye witness, said," He shot that man (Jim) down in cold blood. He blew away his private parts, blood and guts flying everywhere. Then he had the nerve to stand over him with that gun, goin' rat-tat-tat-tat and blew out his brains.... I said Jesus, Jesus... my young niece saw the whole thing... And I know the guy who did it. He lives around here... (can you believe it? Seventeen years old and a hit man."

The coping responses and expressive responses presented have affected the opportunity for residents to complete high

school and go to college. While the data and analysis reflect the general picture of living in Franklin Square, it is of importance to contrast the residents in general to the few who attended church. The most positive cultural frame of reference observed was "going to church." For the very few who took part in this activity, they managed to rise above oppositional behaviors and demonstrate positive coping responses. One example was Laura, a former drug addict who came to the store front church for help. Through friendships established and demonstrations of love and concern by the members, Laura has remained drug free for 2 years.

When residents were asked about their views on the value of an education, the overwhelming response was, "Education is good, it will help you get all you can out of life, and you can't do anything without it." However, no one was able to explain fully why so many residents failed to complete high school and go to college. Such answers as "Parents don't make their kids go to school, children don't receive proper supervision, and they're lazy," were offered as explanations.

In reality, the value of an education is affected by the residents' coping and expressive responses which have emerged as a result of their membership in a caste system. While residents may say that education is good, their behaviors are oppositional to school learning.

Behaviors of the children include oversleeping and missing school, being sent home for fighting and other disruptive behaviors in the classroom. Students saw the school as being places with "mean teachers who holler at you for nothing, and where security chase you for cutting class."

The teachers' and school administrators' perceptions are that the children are a discipline problem in that "they fight as if their lives depended on it." They see the parents as "not caring." The Assistant Principal of one school said, "The parents rarely ask about their childs' academic progress. Most parents will only come to the school to complain if their child did'nt get a free breakfast." She went on to say that the "parents' and children's value is not education, but survival."

The parents say that they care about their children becoming educated, and tell them, "Do the best you can; mind the teacher." However, parents tend not to involve themselves with the school system. This uninvolvement may result from the folk theory of "keeping to yourself," as well the level of parent's education, as many of them did not graduate from high school.

As a result of these behaviors and attitudes, the children's value of an education is affected. As children witness the collective folk theory of unequal opportunity and a job ceiling which has affected family members and residents in the community, there continues to be lack of concrete evidence that education is a value. Because of the job ceiling and perceived unequal opportunity, families and residents do not have a past history that provides evidence that staying in school and going to college will bring good jobs. The past history has taught them that they have limited opportunity to get ahead by traditional means; therefore, alternative strategies of an opposing nature have been used to "get ahead." These alternative strategies are in conflict with completing school and entering college.

As children in the community grow up and witness these alternative pathways to success, these experiences become inculcated in their minds. To them, such alternative pathways as pushing drugs, stealing, and beating the system seem to be successful strategies that provide a life style without need for formal education. Upon entering school, the experiences learned are in conflict with education, in that concrete evidence of the value of an education is not seen in the community.

SUMMARY

The data and analysis from this study support the thesis that residents of Franklin Square are members of a minority caste. Caste membership has been reinforced through a past history of menial employment, discrimination, and exploitation. These experiences have created the conditions for a folk theory that blacks do not have the same job opportunities as whites; therefore, blacks must "make it" by any means necessary.

Alternative strategies for "making it" have been chosen by these residents over traditional ones, such as obtaining degrees and a legitimate career. These alternative strategies of drug trafficking, stealing, and "beating the system" created an oppositional relationship with the mainstram (or legitimate) system.

It was also learned that an oppositional culture frame of reference for daily activities existed. The focus of daily

activities was on immediate gratification, which included "partying," hanging around on corners, "getting high" and watching television. The general feeling was to "survive for today; tomorrow will take care of itself, after all, we're locked in a ghetto and nobody cares."

As a result of these and other factors in the community, the chances of boys and girls completing high school and enrolling in college are limited, and show no signs of improving without intervention. Currently, children have little evidence that completing school and entering college is of value. Few of the residents went to college, and those with college credentials have jobs unrelated to their training. Futhermore, the illegal job opportunities of pushing drugs and running drugs will bring ten times the salary of traditional jobs requiring an education credential.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study provide considerable explanation for low-income ghetto-ized blacks' failure to pursue education. Obgu's minority caste system theory as an explanation for blacks underachievement in education was strongly supported. According to the data gathered as part of this study, low-income blacks in Franklin Square have responded creatively to a system that treats them as inferiors. They have developed alternative strategies of livelihood and survival in accordance with the ways they see "society" providing or not providing opportunity. Unfortunately, these

strategies are generally incompatible with academic achievement or productive work as defined by traditional value systems.

IMPLICATIONS

According to this study, blacks in Franklin Square are members of a caste system and have experienced a very recent history of exploitation. Their caste membership is perpetuated by the social structure which reinforces their belief that they hold an inferior status to whites, and that they are excluded from success in the white-dominated world. Thus it would appear necessary for adjustment in the social system be made before blacks change their behaviors and attitudes, both of which are counter-productive in terms of academic achievement and entering the mainstream of American life.

It is, therefore, recommended that the existing structure and its affect on poor and uneducated blacks and other excluded minorites be examined to determine what adjustments should be made to relieve the effects of caste, thereby increasing black opportunity to contribute to their own and American society's well being. As Hodgkinson had noted, an ever increasing proportion of the potential workforce in the near future will be blacks and Hispanics. Whether the nation prospers will depend in large part on its ability to introduce those changes that will enable this young force of blacks and Hispanics to work productively in high technology positions.

Table 1

Census

	1980 U.S. Census for Blacks	1980 Franklin Square Census
Married Couple Families	57.3%	41%
Female Householder	36.7% (50% in 1985)	49.1%
Persons per Family	3.69%	4.1%
Four or More Years of College	3.6%	3.5%
Unemployment	15%	26.1%
Living Below the Poverty Line	31%	50.6%

Table 2

Historical Factors

are characteristics of
city white washing trees when whites lived in the community
city "chopping down" trees when blacks moved in
block busting
needing blue collar workers
having safe and quiet community
taking pride in ownership during the early '40's
having clean and litter free streets
white stone steps scrubbed
sleeping with doors unlocked
neighbors looking out for each other
neighbors correcting each other's children
crime being unheard of
a few people betting on the horses
families going to church - holding bible class
keeping it in the family
good old days - things were real safe then
homeowners moving out and buying in the north section
homeowners selling houses for nothing in the 50's
property becoming rental units in the 50's
spacious housing becoming small apartments
blacks migrating from the South for jobs
blacks (migrants) choosing to "keep to themselves" and not getting involved
blacks being crowded into small apartments with unfamiliar people
noisness instead of quietness
skepticism instead of trust
"Why should I bother?" attitude; "It's not mine"
factories becoming less man oriented and more machine oriented
residents not being retrained for changing technology
residents becoming jobless
living well below the poverty line
high unemployment
heavy reliance on welfare
feeling that integration hurt us
black professionals moving away

Table 2 (Cont'd.)

building the freeway (Rt. 40) bypassed the community
tearing down old Franklin Square Hospital and
taking away jobs
moving the hospital to the other side of town
feeling that white folks don't have to drive through here
and see how we live
feeling that since white folks don't see us, they don't have
feel bad
feeling that white folk didn't like seein' all these niggers

Table 3

Taxonomy Analysis of Historical Factors

Category 1

Community Appearance

city white washed trees when whites lived in community
city "chopped down" trees when blacks moved in
clean, litter free streets
white stone steps scrubbed daily
building the freeway - Route 40
tearing down old Franklin Square Hospital
moving the hospital clear across town

Category 2

Safety

safe and quiet community
slept with doors unlocked
"Things were real safe then"
crime unheard of

Category 3

Community Living

neighbors looked out for each other
neighbors corrected each other's children
few people bet on horses
families went to church
bible class
kept it in the family
there became noisiness instead of quietness
there became skepticism instead of trust
black professionals moved away
blacks chose to keep to themselves

Table 3 (Cont'd.)

Category 4

Economy

need for black collar workers
blacks migrating from the South for jobs
factories became less man oriented and more machine oriented
living well below the poverty line
heavy reliance on welfare

Category 5

Housing

block busting
kept it in the family
blacks moved to the north section of town
blacks sold their houses for nothing
most property became rental units
spacious houses became small apartments
blacks crowded into small apartments

Category 6

Feeling of the People

pride in ownership of houses
"Good ole days"
"Why should I bother?" attitude
"It's not mine"
"Integration hurt us"
"White folk don't have to drive through here and see how we live"
"Since white folks don't see us, they don't have to feel bad"
"It's like we don't exist"
"White folk didn't like seein' all these niggers"

Table 3 (Cont'd.)

Category 7

Employment

Blacks migrated from the South for jobs in the factories
Blacks were not retrained for changing technology
Blacks became jobless
High unemployment

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